1: Burrows--125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 431, 764 Ifalik

"Most other exchanges of property consist of gifts appropriate to special occasions. Conspicuous among such occasions for giving is a death. Women bring cloths and mats to adorn the body and wrap it up for burial. Men bring coils of rope. These gifts involve association, exceptional in Ifalik, between material goods and honor. Cloths, mats, and rope are offered partly for use, partly as tokens of respect and grief. Consequently, the bulkier the wrappings of the body, the greater the honor accorded the dead.

A feeling for moderation in this respect was shown by the chief Toromānn during the preparations for burial of his colleague Paliuilimar. Toromānn decided at a certain point that enough cloths had been used to wrap the body, and redistributed a few as a surplus. As far as I could make out, these were not--at least, not all--returned to the givers. But they may well have been given to households which had made particularly lavish contributions.

For four days after a death, the closest relatives, in token of mourning, must abstain from all work, even preparation of food. This calls for gifts of another kind. Relatives and neighbors prepare extra food during this period and bring it to the bereaved household. These gifts are not repaid or returned directly. But in the long run all such giving is reciprocal. That is, gifts received by a mourning household amount to reciprocation for gifts it has contributed or will contribute to other households when their time of mourning comes."

1: Burrows--180 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 764, 784 Ifalik

"The only other term whose meaning is closely related to tabw, so far as learned, is fäm. This expresses a condition which Radcliffe Brown ( ) called 'ritual danger', and is applied to human beings at certain crucial times. When a person is fäm, some kinds of conduct ordinarily permissible become tabw to him; in other words, he has to observe special precautions.

Death is one of the events that can make people fäm. Members of a household in which a death has occurred may not gather or prepare food for three days. Food is prepared for them by neighbors, or by relatives not so closely akin to the dead, and these offerings of freshly cooked food, called agilimēs, are brought to the mourners. Those who are fäm are not prohibited, however, as in some regions of more elaborate taboo, from using their hands to feed themselves.

Sea-burial, a custom found nowhere else in the surrounding area, is enjoined on Ifalik by a taboo on burial ashore. If a body was left ashore, it is said, all the vegetation would wither."

1: Burrows--189 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 881, 764 Ifalik

"Rites of passage. There are only two of these: taurang, to celebrate a girl's first menstruation, in which she is bedecked in finery while a song is sung over her, then leads a parade from her maternal homestead to that of her father; and the funeral, which includes all-night wailing and singing of laments (arūerū), followed by sea-burial."

1: Burrows--196-197 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 783, 881, 764 Ifalik

"Absence of some religious practises on Ifalik 'stands out like a missing tooth.' Several such gaps appear among the rites of passage. My observation of the individual life cycle was confined to overt group action; but this is enough to justify the statement that there are no public observances connected with birth, or the coming of [197] age of young men, or marriage, comparable to those noted in connection with the coming of age of young women and with death."

2: Damm et al. --77 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 764 Ifaluk

When an inhabitant of the island dies, all the people of Ifaluk gather together, cry, scream and sing songs of mourning (dāń). The deceased receives a new loin apron; his throat, upper and lower arms and legs are decorated with strings of white beads, and finally the whole body is smeared with red paint (lāń). The face just has a frame of color (see drawing 172). Then the arms are tied together between the upper thighs, the lower thighs are turned back, and bound to the upper ones. If the deceased person is a married man, his widow takes leave of him with mōńorai [AN: fellatio]. Then the body is wrapped in a pandanus mat (giagi) about 2 fathoms long, and he is buried with his head turned toward the west (!); the natives did not know the reason for this.

If death occurs in the morning, the burial is about four o'clock; in the other case, it is the next morning at sunrise. The corpse is laid in a box-like coffin (imelimās) about a meter long, and this is made by all the natives, as soon as they realize that death is imminent. The coffin consists of sticks, which are fastened close together. Since the burial is in the sea, and inside the reef, the coffin is weighted with stones, which are either fastened to it, or laid inside... After serving as pall bearers the men are not etāb [AN: taboo].

2; Damm et al. --140 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 764 Aurupik

Burial. The deceased is wrapped in a mat, and then either buried in the earth, or weighted with a stone and sunk in the ocean. There is no burial in a boat. There were special places for cemeteries.

Death (emḗia) and Burial (iragegērī́gi). The parents, sisters and relatives all take care of the sick person; but if he dies, they rub his face carefully with yellow paint (rán), and put a little of it on the rest of his body. Finally, they wrap him in clothing mats. Men and women sing mourning songs, and then they carry the corpse to a large boat, which lies to the east; this is done at the behest of Eluelap, who said that the deceased should be taken in this direction. Then the body is carried outside the reef, laid in a net, that is weighted with stones (śrṓu), and sunk in the sea (gaterṓulâux). Burial occurs on the same day as the death. The dead are devoured by fish, and the bones fall to the bottom of the ocean.

2: Damm et al. --190-191 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 177, 764 Faraulep

Formerly the dead were buried, and stone pavements were laid over their graves (sětje). Then the Yap natives, who thus fulfilled the wish of the god Yŏnelaf, urged them [191] to bury the bodies in the sea. This applies to the inhabitants of Oleai, Ifaluk, Aurepik and Faraulip. This information of Hambruch is especially interesting because it connects the two types of burial in point of time, and it also shows that the sinking of the dead is tied up with the Yŏnelaf cult. If we consider that there were migrations to the Carolines from the east and the west on the basis of the spread of the aînaṅ, Hambruch's statement shows the most important elements of the wave of culture that infiltrated from the west.

4: Krämer--119 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 775, 764 Lamotrek

Unless a dead person has a burial hut his spirit roams about at night roaring and howling and scaring the living.

4: Krämer--119-120
116, 764

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-1 - 2
Lamotrek

Burial

Figure 52 [VMM: see source] shows a house to the right of the house on piles; this is the burial hut of Saualik who was connected with Sopi and on the extreme right there is a hut over the tomb of Sopi's mother who had adopted him....

On the grave of Rólimei there stood a hut áruat (photo 9d [VMM: see source]). This photograph shows that a small saddle roof was supported on two roof columns; the cornerposts cannot be made out accurately and of the framework only the transverse gable-beam is seen; it is connected with the column and the apparently leaning corner posts by diagonal poles. The gable ends in vertical sticks which are connected with each other by three cords in an awning-like fashion. Below the burial hut is surrounded by coconut mats.

The navigator Rolimei intended to sail from Yap to Mokemok, but missed this island group and finally reached Poloat; when he wanted to return home from this island he drifted to Lamotrek where he died.

Unless a dead person has a burial hut his spirit roams about at night roaring and howling and scaring the living.

For that reason the dead are frequently wrapped into mats and the bundle with the body is weighted down with a stone and dropped into the ocean.

Ocean Burial

The spot for ocean burials is south of the island of Lamotrek, 100-150 meters off the

shore, at a place called Taualiva; this is the same name as that of the canoe passage in that region (map 2 [VMM: see 4: Kramer 15]). The dead is wrapped up in woven mats.* The mourning relatives of the dead stay in the death house until the fourth day. Then the eldest of the family makes a long garland (mar) from [120] blossoms and leaves, and his people take it down to the spot mentioned on the ocean; as they move down in that direction they invoke the gods Aluelap, Saukal, etc. and request good fortune and protection from death by prayers. Then they toss the garlands into the sea. When this first group of people returns, the more distant relatives leave the house of the dead; only the very closest family remains there until the moon has reached its fullness. During this entire period of time work is not permitted.

After five to six months, the fi is held: the belongings of the dead are washed in the juice of young coconuts, and then the juice is drunk.

When the body is thrown into the ocean, some people dive after it as a final gesture.

Then the spectators of the burial quickly paddle back to the shore. They all make a blanket with a hole for the head (Truk, page 92) out of a sleeping mat, lugelug, and cover themselves with it; they also cut their hair.

*When Lewis came from Yap he saw many strangers die of hunger on Lamotrek; because of a shortage of mats they were wrapt in simple coconut-plaited materials.

4: Krämer--120 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 764 Lamotrek

A short time ago the man Säperóu died. His brother was Zigĕlŭgŏl. 11 women provided mats (dress and sleeping mats) for the funeral; they were women of the clan of Saperóü and five were members of his closer family:

Zagabăs ♀,	roligaléa (Gattin)				
Tănewaga ♀,	măneai (sister)				
Leigomâu ♀,	fazŧloăl (daughter of Saperóŭ)				
Tamilimôi ♀,	"	"	"	"	
Eoleiijĕn ♀,	"	"	"	"	
Loiifit ♀,	"	"	"	"	

Takŏf ♀
Pănélioa ♀
Wŭimăr ♀
Elóubut ♀
Năna felitip ♀
lagapéiumār ♀

Contributed the mats

Lagajüümāl o
Lagaleümār o
Lagatoiilŭl o
Lizéineŭzăk o

The older women on the other hand, are subject to the death taboo, ŏlelimĕs (...bailimas), while they stay with the son of Saperóŭ in the "Great House." The taboo is declared by the chief. The woman must stay in the great house because here Saperóu is laid out. After four days the women may return to their homes.

4: Krämer--120 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 764 Elato

Hambruch learned the following on Elato...

The dead is laid out in the house and buried the very day of the death. The body faces south. It is sewn in mats, ornamented, weighted down with stones and dropped from the canoe into the ocean outside of the lagoon. Four days after this sort of sea burial, a big banquet is held, and all the people who have contributed mats and other things attend.

6: Senfft--55
116, 764, 826

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

When there is a death in the family the nearest relatives cut off their hair.

6: Senfft--56
116, 764

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The dead are buried, after they have been washed thoroughly, in finely woven mats a short time after death. They may be buried at sea, according to the desire of the dying man. In Oleai it is the custom to drink the water in which dead children have been washed and to keep the body in the house for a few days. The natives explain this by saying that they feel great grief at the death of the child and that "they have to part from it and want to retain something that belonged to the child."

11: Born--190 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 764 Woleai

When a man dies, his friends and relatives from the entire atoll come to the funeral. They take part in the lamentations and bring presents to the family of the deceased. There are no dances. The body is wrapped in a mat. Two or three days after death it is placed in a casket made of the parts of a canoe. It may be buried at the outskirts of the group of dwelling houses; otherwise, the casket is taken outside of the reef, weighted with stones, and buried at sea. No mounds are erected above the graves. A rectangular stone wall encloses the grave, on which coral pebbles have been strewn. The natives give as a reason for burials at sea the fact that a stranger might walk across the grave and so disturb the peace of the departed, or that children might laugh and play on the graves and thus "play with the dead"! A body may be buried in the grave of a deceased relative.

12: Lutke--145 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 764. 643 Woleai

The tombs of the chiefs are exactly like those of the Lukunor people; but some of them are much larger. On one of them I saw a canoe lying diagonally with its keel on top.

17: Meinicke--377
116, 764

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

...in Ulie [LEM: mourning includes women] covering the body with ashes.

17: Meinicke--377
116, 764, 775, 565

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

In Ulie it is the custom to burn the corpse after exposure and to place the ashes in a canoe on the roof of the dead man's house. Common people on the contrary are laid on rafts or in little canoes and handed over to the sea whose tide leads them into the underworld;

28: Spiro--38 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 764, 505, 396 Ifalik

"The other construction [WPM: other than sein making] that is performed cooperatively is canoe-making, and here kinship plays a significant role, particularly in the construction of small canoes, which are owned and used by one person. In the construction of large canoes, many men will assist the owner because the task requires a number of hands at certain stages of the process, and also because, though owned privately, it is used for many communal purposes, such as burial and inter-atoll travel."

28: Spiro--84
116, 845,764

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Still births occur, though I could obtain no information on their frequency. The mother's mother will massage its head, arms, and legs, and often this will vivify the infant. If this is of no avail, it is wrapped in a lavalava, tied with a fishline, and after a brief wailing by the family, it is buried at the side of the birth-hut. The reason for burying it on land, rather than in the ocean, as is the practice with adults, is that the new-born is 'no people, only something,' that is it is still not looked upon as human."

28: Spiro--136 a [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 562, 828, 764 Ifalik

"Both men and women recognize differential sexual reactions, (temperaments), and numerous men and women I questioned agreed completely, without exception on the following facts. A woman is more sensitive than a man, and is hurt much more readily, so that her feeling of sorrow at the loss of a relative is much greater. This accounts, they say, for her behavior at funerals, tearing her face and hair. (18)

A woman loves her children more intensely than does the man. (19) The man is more prone to anger than the woman, and his anger is more intense. His anger cannot be appeased by his wife, whereas the wife's anger can be assuaged by her husband. A man is braver than a woman, so that the latter fears such dangers as typhoons, sharks, airplanes, etc. more than the man. The woman succumbs to illness more readily than the man. She will take to her bed at small provocation, whereas the men will go about his work."

"18. This funeral behavior is culturally patterned, so that it is interesting to note the use made of a culturally expected behavior pattern being employed to indicate a factor of feminine character.

19. This shown in the songs collected by Dr. Burrows, many of which are mother's lamentation for their dead children or praise of them."

28: Spiro--138-139 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 ~~/
116, 764, 539 Ifalik

"When the person is pronounced dead, the wailers now mourn over the corpse with the singing of arueru. The following is an example of one:

Lament for Death of a Son
(the kind of Arueru lezari that is sung at the wailing sessions at a man's death)

Flower of the aro
And the wut, that grow by the house [139]
Near the gable end..
What if he should get worse?
Why should this sickness come to him?
I am afraid he may die..
He lies there and cannot get up.

Oh, now he lies dead!
I rush out beside the lagoon
Searching everywhere for him
But he is nowhere to be seen.
He will not come to the house as he used to,

If he were alive he would be here
Making everybody laugh with his jokes.
His mouth had a charming curve
As he talked and laughed merrily.
A fine beard he had
And beautiful eyebrows.

Missing him is like a fire
That burns my heart and eyes.
I am worn with sorrow.
No one can see my beautiful boy.

What a fine man he was.
Expert in all many [sic] crafts.
He worked hard in his plantation
Clearing out the weeds.
His place was over on the seaward side.
I remember what pride he took in it.

Go there now and what a difference.
The wind comes against my face
And blows on my body.
What if that wind were my boy come back to me.
I go along the shore
Walking in the sunlight
To the bay where he used to go
And around to the other side.
I sit down and there I see him
As if in a dream.
I know it is he before my very eyes.
He is not dead, he is alive.
He sits down beside me,
I think, what can I give him?
I call out come to me, it has been so long.
Tumeric from Truk, with its rare red
And the white paint I give him.

He puts it on his hands, then rubs it on his face.
On his beautiful face and body.
What a lovely youth.
Flower about my neck,
Fragrant aro flower.
Anoint yourselves."

28: Spiro--140-141 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 764 Ifalik

"Another even more important psychological problem arises from the behavior exhibited in the aftermath of the funeral; but first let us take up our ethnographic story. [WPM: See p. 140, paragraph 2 and 3] When the rope-net is in readiness, the body is wrapped in it, and over it is wrapped the pandanus mat, and it is then tied with thick cord. The corpse is carried to the canoe, which will carry the body out to sea, by male kin of the deceased, while the mourners inside the house follow the procession to the canoe. The body is then wrapped in what seems like endless yards of rope, and is weighted down with stone, prior to burying it in the ocean. The female mourners, in the meantime, have entered the lagoon and continue their wailing, but the men do not continue theirs. While the body is being tied, some members of the family break the utensils used by the deceased during his illness. [141]

When all is in readiness, the sail is raised, and the body is taken out to sea, where it receives an ocean burial. The women continue their wailing in the water until the canoe has disappeared from sight. The canoe used for this purpose may not be put back into the canoe house, but must remain outside for four days, and may not be used."

28: Spiro--141 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 764, 171, 821 Ifalik

"Ocean burial is not the rule in the Central Carolines. On the contrary, Ifaluk is the only culture that practices it, the others burying their dead in the ground. The natives say that there are two reasons for this practice. If the corpse is not removed from the island, a typhoon will destroy the idland. If the corpse is buried in the ground, its body fluids will mix with the soil, causing the vegetation to die. (3)"

"3. It should be noted that the fear of the presence of the dead is related to two of the people's most severe anxieties--the lack of food, and typhoons."

28: Spiro--141 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 764, 801 Ifalik

"After the burial, a number of taboos and practices are observed by the family of the deceased. The 'pall bearers' may not sleep in their own homes, but must sleep in the house of the deceased for four days. (4) Their food is prepared on a separate fire, and they may neither take from nor give another a light. Talemera, for example, would not share the cigarettes I had given him with Woromai, after it had been lit, because the latter had been a pall bearer. This taboo on the sharing of fire seems to be true of members of the family as well. Tom refused to light the cigarette of Novogopok, the mother of the man who had died, during the mourning period: 'I am afraid dead man,' for he might make him ill."

"4. Four is the sacred number in Ifaluk. Almost all abstention taboos, as well as any other acts of supernatural import involve the number 4."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the